

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, APRIL 24, 1915

SHOWS WAY TO FREE WORKERS FROM FOOD TRUST'S GRIP

By JOHN C. KENNEDY

This article by one of Chicago's Socialist Aldermen, is published here for the first time. The Chicago Beef Barons tried to suppress it, forgetting the workers had a voice of their own.

THE standards of living in the stock yards district rise and fall with the scale of wages paid in the packing industry. It is a conservative estimate to state that 50 per cent of all the male employees in the packing industry are paid \$10 per week or less, and that over 60 per cent of all the women employees in the packing industry are paid \$6 per week or less. Our family budgets prove conclusively that no ordinary workingman can support a family decently on \$10 a week in Chicago. We know it is extremely difficult for any woman to live decently on \$6 per week in Chicago.

Therefore those low wages mean a low standard of living for thousands of families in the stockyards district. Our studies have shown that an inadequate income for the head of the family means the boarders will be taken in to help pay the rent and this generally means overcrowding and lack of family privacy. When the income of the head of the family is too low, there is strong economic pressure to send the wife out to work in the packing house, factory and elsewhere while the children are sent to work as soon as they become 14 years of age. Even with the income thus derived from boarders and the labor of the wife and children, it is sometimes impossible to feed, clothe, and educate the family decently.

When industry, such as the Chicago packing industry, pays its workers such low wages that it is almost impossible for them to maintain a decent American standard of living, the community as a whole is bound to suffer.

Instead of strong, vigorous, well educated children being reared for our future citizenship, we are certain to get a group who are weak physically and woefully undereducated. An unnecessary burden is put upon our municipal, state and charitable institutions, for when the workers are too poor to care for the same property, resources must be made available and state institutions. It is not surprising to learn in this connection that one of the busiest branch offices of the United Charities is found in the heart of the stockyards district, nor is it surprising that of all the deaths of adults in the stockyards district, 31 per cent are from tuberculosis. In a word, abnormally low wages lead inevitably to bad housing, under-nourishment, excessive use of alcoholic stimulants, child labor, unnecessary disease and many other evils which put a serious burden on the community as a whole.

CONDITIONS BECOMING WORSE.

THE WAGES of the skilled workers in the packing industry are not only extremely low, but judged by their actual purchasing power, they are fully 20 per cent lower today than they were in 1904. Thus wage conditions are not only bad, but they are becoming progressively worse.

Since, as we have shown above, abnormally low wages in any industry are not only a matter of concern to the employers and the employee but also the community as a whole, the question arises: what can a community do in such a case to insure that every worker should get at least a living wage? Perhaps there is no single simple solution of this problem, but the following possibilities are offered for what they may be worth:

(1). The state may fix a minimum wage for all the workers in the industry. In doing this, the state would simply be exercising its police power in a matter quite as vital to the community as many others which are already under state regulation.

It was found, for example, that if the packing companies were allowed to conduct their slaughtering and meat packing business as they saw fit, the health of the consumers of meat products would be endangered by insanitary conditions in the packing houses. Therefore the government established minimum sanitary regulations which must be observed by every packing company, and it employs a large staff of inspectors to see that these regulations are complied with. Few people question the necessity and value of government regulation in the packing industry, and government inspection of meat products in order to protect the consumer. In our opinion, it is quite as important to the welfare of the community that the rank ignorant unorganized immigrants employed in such industries as the packing business should receive enough wages to buy nourishing food, as that the food should be fit to eat when they get it. Our statistics regarding wages and the cost of living in the stockyards district show that it is just as necessary for the government to protect the workers in their dealings as it has been to protect the consumers. It is hardly the place here to discuss in detail the methods by which a minimum wage law might be put into practical operation. Such laws are already in operation in Australia and England and state commissions have been studying the question in Massachusetts, Wisconsin and Minnesota. If the desirability of such legislation is once generally recognized, ways and means can soon be found to put it into operation.

FORGE OF IDLE WORKERS.

(2). ONE of the reasons that wages are so low in the packing industry is that there is always a horde of idle workers waiting at the employment offices of the packers for jobs. If some of the workers in this district could be diverted to other places where there is a greater demand for their labor, it is probable that the wages would be somewhat higher. Therefore, if a state or municipal employment bureau were established in the stockyards district,

JOHN C. KENNEDY read into the record of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations a financial report of Armour & Co. for 1913. This, he said, showed that the company declared a dividend of 10 per cent and that it has accumulated a surplus of \$34,000,000.

READ THIS FIRST

THIS WEEK The American Socialist is able to present to its readers some vital revelations concerning the world famous Chicago stockyards. The big Beef Barons themselves tell that these revelations were so damaging that they ordered them suppressed. And they were suppressed with the aid and connivance of University of Chicago professors addicted with false reform tendencies and some so-called "spliffs."

But the truth cannot be suppressed forever. And it all came out in the dual or triplets presented in his report cited immediately. But his conclusions, the only conclusions that he could reach, were suppressed by the notorious "editing committee" consisting of S. J. Larned, superintendent of the Chicago Telephone Co., William Scott Bond, a big real estate dealer; Prof. George E. Head, professor of physiology at the University of Chicago, and the late Prof. Charles E. Henderson, who was professor of sociology at the University.

The suppressed portion of the report, which The American Socialist publishes on this page, contains Kennedy's own conclusions. He decides that the only way to remedy immediately some of the evils of the packing industry, under private ownership is to organize the stockyards' employees into a strong union. "The fundamental remedy," Kennedy writes at the beginning of the public operations and organization of the packing industry. The entire report was submitted to the officials of the packing companies before it was published. The men did not dare to make the report public because they knew that the workers were organized before the report was made public.

Kennedy based his conclusions on the fact that he had a few members of the industrial commission that he had a few members of university professors, as leaders of thought in the direction of improvement of industrial conditions and results for workers. He said certain professors and other forms of educational leaders "had made a really positive effort to direct public attention to why bad and unfair industrial conditions, especially those of the stockyards, were to be remedied."

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UNEMPLOYMENT DRAGS DOWN WAGES.

UNEMPLOYMENT undermines the life of the community not only by drawing down the general level of wages, but by creating a group of actual laborers who in the course of time do not want to get regular work. There is a tendency for these workers to drift into habits which undermine their physical and mental health.

The problem of unemployment therefore is one of the most serious with which the workers of the stockyards district are confronted.

Unemployment in the packing industry is mainly of three types: First, there is the loss of time from day to day due to the fact that the killing gangs and several other departments work irregular hours. For example, a cattle butcher may work five hours on Monday, eleven hours on Tuesday, nine hours on Wednesday, seven hours on Thursday, eight hours on Friday and three hours on Saturday. As was shown in Part One, the average number of hours per week put in by the members of the killing gang ranges between 35 and 40. Secondly, considerable unemployment is caused by seasonal work. In the cannery department, for example, there may be a great rush of work at one time of the year, and practically nothing to do at another. Probably the majority of the departments of the packing industry are more or less affected by these seasonal fluctuations. Thirdly, irrespective of these causes of unemployment there is always an army of unemployed in the stockyards district ranging from 2,000 to 7,000 many of whom have never been at work in the yards at all.

Obviously any solution for the problem of unemployment in the packing industry must recognize the difference between these various kinds of unemployment. Undoubtedly much could be done to eliminate the difficulty in the first case if the packers would deliberately attempt to secure regular hours of work for their employees in all departments. It is probable that the killing gangs could be put on an eight hour day basis with Saturday half holiday at comparatively little additional expense to the companies. It would mean that in some cases the stock would have to be kept twelve hours longer than otherwise.

Likewise in regard to the second type of unemployment much could be done by the packers to improve conditions. In some cases at least work could be spread more evenly through the year and regular periods of vacation could be established for the employees. With proper foresight and organization of the working force, the period of unemployment and insecurity for the workers could be reduced to a considerable extent by changing into periods of vacation and recreation.

As it is now the whole burden of insecurity of unemployment is placed upon the shoulders of those least able to bear it. In many of the departments the workers do not know how many hours they are to be employed from day to day, and they don't know when they will be "paid off" indefinitely. All this should be changed.

If this irregularity of employment is inherent in the nature of the packing industry, then the industry as a whole should bear the burden, not those who are struggling on the margin of subsistence. The state, whereby the packers hire their help by the hour and the day puts the workers in the most extreme position of insecurity. In one or two cases the companies guarantee the workers a minimum amount of employment throughout the year. If some such device as this were made universal some of the most serious evils of unemployment would be abolished.

The third type of unemployment, that rising from the fact that there is a surplus of labor in the district, can only be eliminated by the action of the packing companies. This problem must be solved by the community.

FACT FULL OF MEANING.

IT IS A significant fact that practically every student of social conditions in the stockyards district up to the time when the union was destroyed, praised the work that it was doing for the employee and the community. Professor John Commons, for example, writes in his work on Trade Unionism and Labor Problems, (p. 233): "Perhaps the most remarkable gain secured by the Cattle Butchers' union, and one that was shared by all the others, was the adoption of regular hours of work."

THE WORKING CONDITIONS ARE BAD.

THE WORKING conditions show the need for more thorough inspection and the more vigorous enforcement of regulations to protect the health and welfare of the employees. In many cases, for example, the light and ventilation are very bad. Unquestionably much of the tuberculosis in the stockyards district is due to these bad working conditions. When 31 per cent of all the deaths of adults in the stockyards district are caused by tuberculosis it is time that the community should see that the workplaces of these people are properly lighted and ventilated. The jurisdiction of the state department of factory inspection in regard to matters of ventilation, light and sanitation in the packing houses is open to question, but if the state department has not the power to secure proper conditions there is no doubt that the federal government can enforce any regulations that are reasonable. Some rooms in which the workers are employed should be closed up

altogether, while new windows should be cut in others and systems of ventilation fans installed.

In some cases the workers are employed in damp rooms with water dripping from the ceiling. This should not be tolerated as it could easily be prevented. In other cases the temperature is needlessly high.

Since 1906, there has been a considerable increase in the packing houses in the provision of wash rooms, toilet facilities and locker rooms.

Practically no provision for lunch rooms has been made for the employees of the packing industry except in the canning department of Company B, and in the office buildings. It certainly seems reasonable that the employees who spend their working hours amid conditions which are generally disagreeable, should at least be permitted to eat their lunches in a clean and sanitary lunch room. The probability is that if the packing companies provided satisfactory lunch rooms for all the workers in their employ, they would actually derive a profit from the investment. There can be no doubt that if the employer had a warm, nourishing lunch served in a sanitary, comfortable lunch room, they would work more efficiently than they do at present.

The accompanying photograph shows a group of packing house workers rushing out to "Whiskey Point" at the noon hour, either to eat their lunches in saloons or to get palls of beer to take back to their work places. It can easily be seen that there is a great waste in time and energy, not to speak of the fact that the workers are not getting anything like the relaxation to which they are entitled. Therefore if we are to look at the matter as a business proposition or from the standpoint of decent treatment of the employees, lunch rooms should be provided for the workers in all departments.

PENSION AND INSURANCE FRAUDS.

IN RECENT years it has been recognized throughout the world of industry that the workers are entitled to protection against the insecurity and dependence arising from industrial accidents, sickness and old age. Hence, in insuring insurance systems and old age pensions for their employees, the officials of four of the leading packing companies have taken a progressive and commendable position. But while the application of the principle of insurance is now well known, there is still much to be done in this direction, the plans under which these principles have been executed by the packing companies are open in some respects to serious criticism.

The pension system, for example, which thus far have been established by two of the companies, apply to salaried employees only. If the term "salaried" is given its general meaning the great mass of the workers will be excluded. But it is precisely these workers above all others who need the system of old age pensions; first, because their earnings are too small to meet cases to permit of their laying aside any savings for old age, and secondly because their work is frequently of such exhausting nature that at the age of 50 or 55 they are worn out and thrown on the scrap heap.

Another respect in which the pension schemes are open to criticism is that they are decidedly undemocratic. Although the employees are compelled to contribute 2 per cent of their salaries annually, they have practically nothing to do with the administration of the funds involved.

In some respects these pension systems appear to be cleverly devised schemes to prevent the more intelligent workers from attempting in any way to bring pressure upon the companies to advance wages or improve working conditions. For example, the provision found in both plans that an employee may be discharged at any time and his contribution to the pension fund returned to him with 4 per cent interest thereon means simply this: the worker had been in the employ of Company A for 15 years and should join with his fellow workers in a strike, he would thereby forfeit all of his rights to a pension. The companies, of course, may well say that if the worker goes back his contributions will be forfeited but he has no ground for complaint if he does lose his pension. While there may be some justice in this point of view, nevertheless any scheme which tends to make the workers more subservient in such industries as the packing industry, where they are already at a decided disadvantage in bargaining with their employers, can hardly be looked upon as beneficial from the standpoint of the community.

The insurance systems of Companies B, C and D, especially of the two former, are open to some of the criticism made of the pension schemes mentioned above. The plan of Company D is democratic but the burden falls entirely upon the workers. The company makes no financial contribution and assumes no financial responsibility. The plans of Companies B, C and D are undemocratic although the workers do theoretically have a voice in the administration of affairs. The companies really control the whole matter. The benefits for industrial accidents are comparatively low, being much smaller, for example, than those paid by the International Harvester Company in similar cases.

In general it may be said that while pensions and insurance systems are highly desirable, if they are to be of benefit to the workers of the community as a whole, the burden must be placed upon the industry rather than upon the workers alone, and the management must be as democratic and the payment of benefits as adjusted that the effort of the workers to maintain a standard of living through trade unions is not strong enough to take up this matter. A strike was threatened, but finally a conference was secured with a leading packer. The union spokesman told him of these hardships (due to extremely irregular hours) comparing their position with his own, in that they never knew beforehand when their work would begin or be done, while he could finish up his day's work and go home. The packer only replied that he had never known what sort of conditions had existed. From the data of that interview, although no promises were made, overtime has been established for the cattle butchers in all the establishments. That a union had to be organized and threaten a strike in order that the owner of the business might learn of conditions which his own conscience prompted disapproval, is a fact full of meaning for all who are disturbed by the modern arrest of labor.

The question may be raised whether a trade union would be necessary or desirable in the packing industry providing our first two suggestions were acted upon, viz. — the fixing of a minimum wage by the state, and the establishment of a state or municipal employment bu-

SOCIALIST AND BEEF BARON IN BRAIN DUEL BEFORE U. S. INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION

WHEN the United States Commission on Industrial Relations came to Chicago to investigate the packing industry it selected two chief witnesses. One was J. Ogden Armour, the multi-millionaire, and the other was John C. Kennedy, recently elected Socialist alderman from Chicago's twenty-seventh ward. Kennedy had made a

cover more than 60 per cent of their lots with buildings to be used for housing purposes. Better inspection is needed to enforce housing legislation. It is also imperative that a large number of sanitary attractive dwellings should be erected to be rented to Stockyards workers at a reasonable cost. It is unlikely that such dwellings will be erected by private builders as a business investment. The packers might undertake something of this kind in the same way that Krupp & Company of Essen, Germany, have erected dwellings for 7,000 of their employees and their families. If the private builders and the packers fail to provide suitable housing accommodations the city should secure the power from the state legislature to engage directly in the housing business.

Municipal housing is quite common in many parts of Europe. There is no sound reason why municipal housing should not be undertaken by American cities if satisfactory accommodations for the workers cannot be secured in any other way. It is just as essential for the welfare of the city that its workers should be well housed as that they should have a pure supply of water. It has been found that the water supply can best be furnished by the municipality and it will probably be found that in some cases at least, the solution of the housing problem will be accomplished best through municipal ownership.

There can be no question that municipal ownership of the land is desirable, since this would give the city complete control over building operations and would reserve to the whole community the unearned increment in its value which is created by gravity. If the city goes into the housing business it should own not only the land but the dwellings which are erected upon the land. They could be rented to the workers at a reasonable cost without any financial loss to the city. There is still plenty of vacant land west of Robey street which is less than a mile from the principal packing houses.

In the old 29th ward, the density of population east of Robey street was 68 to the acre in 1910; west of Robey street, there are 6½ square miles of habitable land with a density of only 8.5 to the acre. If a street car line were run west from Ashland avenue on 43rd street it would open up much of this territory to the Stockyards workers. There is a call for the community to unite in a garage city just to the stockyards workers a mile or two west of the Stockyards providing suitable transportation facilities are offered. It would seem that the packers have a splendid opportunity to do something toward the housing of their workers which would prove to be not only extremely beneficial to their employees but also a good business investment for themselves.

ODORS STILL BIG PROBLEMS.

CONSIDERABLE progress has already been made toward the abolition of the smoke堆積 in the stockyards district. One company has clearly demonstrated that its power plant can be operated successfully without polluting the air to any noticeable extent. Moreover, officials of this company have stated that their smokeless power plant has been running more cheaply than the one which they had before and which was one of the worst "smokers" in the stockyards.

The problem of offensive odors seems to be little nearer solution today than it was ten years ago. As was stated before, the worst of these odors originate in the fertilizer departments, glue factories, and tank rooms.

The stockyards are known as the most dangerous district for fires in the whole city. The reasons for this are, first, that very few of the buildings in the yards are of fire-proof construction; secondly, that the warehouses and cold storage rooms are very much like vanities, in which it is very difficult to fight a fire, and thirdly because there never has been an adequate water supply in the stockyards district. For the protection of the workers and of the firemen whose lives are endangered by these configurations, the community should demand, first, that every new building erected in the stockyards should be of strictly fireproof construction. Second, that sprinkler systems should be installed in the ceilings of cold storage buildings, warehouses, and other rooms where it is difficult to fight fires successfully; third, that a high pressure water system be installed in the stockyards district which will ensure plenty of water at a high pressure in case of emergency.

GETTING THE MONEY.

IT MAY BE asked where are the packers to secure the money necessary to increase wages and make the improvements suggested in this paper? It may be said that while the various recommendations are highly desirable, they cannot be put into effect without bankrupting the companies. Without an accurate knowledge of the profits that are being made by the different packing companies, it is impossible to say to what extent wages can be raised and improvements made under present conditions. We know, however, that one of the largest companies has paid an annual dividend of seven per cent to its stockholders for several years, before setting aside a considerable surplus.

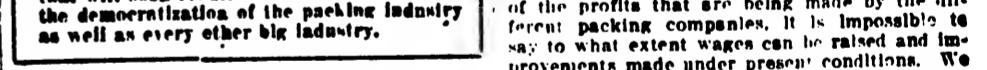
The net profits of this company have averaged about 12 per cent for the last five years on the capital investment. It is probable that the other companies have earned as large a profit on their investments as the one just mentioned.

THEREFORE WE HAVE GOOD REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE VARIOUS PACKING COMPANIES ARE IN A POSITION TO RAISE THE WAGES OF THEIR EMPLOYEES AT LEAST IN PROPORTION TO THE INCREASED COST OF LIVING, AND TO MAKE SUCH IMPROVEMENTS IN SANITARY AND WORKING CONDITIONS AS HAVE BEEN SUGGESTED IN THIS STUDY.

THEY kill hogs and steers and sheep out in the stockyards, largely of the Armours and Swifts. These

conditions existing in certain sections of the Stockyards district are extremely bad. Although there is much vacant land within two or three miles of the packing houses, yet the houses have usually been crowded together with little regard to light, air and sanitation. Most of the houses are poorly constructed frame buildings and in many cases adequately located facilities are lacking. Probably the most serious evil, however, is that of overcrowded rooms.

The housing problem in the Stockyards district cannot be solved completely without dealing with the housing problem in the whole city of Chicago. Builders should be forbidden to



(Upper) J. OGDEN ARMOUR, World's Biggest Beef Baron. (Lower) JOHN C. KENNEDY, Chicago Socialist Alderman.

complete investigation of industrial

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SATURDAY, APRIL 24th, 1915.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Here is all the week's news worth while from foreign countries to help fight for Socialism they do not have time to read the daily socialist press.

TUESDAY, APRIL 13.

Great Britain, France and Russia are unwilling to end the war unless Germany and Austria are definitely and officially set free.

President-elect of St. Louis board of education indicted for forgery.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 14.

Supreme court of Canada, 4,000 signatures gathered and signed, 4,000 signatures sent to Paris, Bay, Lower California, Mexico, 400 miles from San Diego.

Twenty persons, 10 women, die when truck loaded with coal and driven at high speed.

Greece: Separation passed over at least one town in northeast England and dropped.

THURSDAY, APRIL 15.

Greece: Banking strike affecting 100,000 men completely halts spring construction work in Chicago.

Reported 100,000 men for months will see themselves reduced to republican party.

China: Three traitors in the service of the United States in effort to maintain not only their territorial integrity but its sovereignty.

FRIDAY, APRIL 16.

Work in Germany, 3,000 in Holland, Greece prepares for war. Air raids now in Germany, France and Great Britain.

Life insurance claims paid on British officers killed in the war amount to \$5,000,000.

SATURDAY, APRIL 17.

Gulf progressive in U. S. Senate, 10,000 Progressive Workers, 10,000 revolutionaries. Turkish torpedo boat destroyed, and British transports sunk with loss of 100,000 men. The British now out of Germany, South Africa, French now out of Portugal, America at end of resources, cuts new men.

SUNDAY, APRIL 18.

Two anti-British submarine in Denmark, Norway and Theodore Roosevelt, 10,000 in Italy just at Syracuse, 10,000 men reported at front and 10,000 men in France, 70,000 of enemy in the fortresses.

MONDAY, APRIL 19.

July chosen in Italy against Roosevelt brought by Republicans. Roosevelt, 10,000 men harpooned in England. Cannon fleet beat to cross to The Hague for big conference.

New York anarchist, victim of alleged bootleg, sent to prison for not less than 20 years.

United States rejects case, refuses final appeal of Lee E. Frank, charged with murder of Atlanta, Ga., factory girl.

THE OPTIMIST.

In carrying on their campaign that resulted in the election of two Socialists to the Chicago city council, the Socialists of the two victorious wards issued a campaign publication and called it "The Optimist." There was no place for pessimists in this cheerful host of workers. They went into the fight for the greatest cause on earth with a smile. When 15,000 "Optimists" were put on the door steps, into the mail boxes or directly into the hands of the voters in either the Fifteenth or the Twenty-Seventh Ward, they were read. In the Fifteenth Ward the ardent campaigners in the Socialist cause tried to find copies of "The Optimist" that had either been thrown away or permitted to blow away. They couldn't find them. That's because the workers in these wards want to know more about Socialism. An indication of how Socialism grows under the smashing created by smiling, cheerful workers in the cause is shown by the following tables. Here is the record of Chicago's Fifteenth Ward:

Year Vote

1912 928

1913 2,162

1914 3,780

1915 6,246 (Victory)

And here is what happened in the twenty-seventh ward:

Year Vote

1912 1,874

1913 1,107

1914 2,120

1915 12,155 (Victory)

The Socialist movement of America, right now, in spite of the tragic war in Europe and the desperation brought in by hunger and unemployment in this country, is facing the future with a smile, because what the working-class needs most in this hour of despair is a cheerful note to guide it successfully onward toward its own emancipation.

SHEARING TIME SOON.

With an industrial depression and consequent unemployment, the predominating feature in our economic life, it is very hard to believe the stereotyped editorial now appearing in the capitalist press to the effect that the people are investing heavily in railroad and other stocks. These editorials no doubt voice the hope of the nation's financiers rather than state an actual condition.

The argument advanced is that so many people are investing their surplus funds in the big public utilities, that the socialization and democratization of industry as advocated by the Socialists is absolutely unnecessary and will never be. Here is a specimen argument.

"Socialists will not have to worry much longer because big business, including the railroads, is owned by a few capitalists. Their ownership is through stocks, and bonds are being distributed among the people at an astonishingly rapid rate. The number of stockholders in the old, well-established corporations is growing daily and with

their outward arguments.

the consequent reduction in the average number of shares held by each owner. A goodly portion of bonds of such concerns is owned by the life insurance companies that are in turn owned by the people. Even the Socialists themselves may become part owners in big business if they be thrifty enough to save up a few dollars with which to buy a share or two of stock or a bond in the New York Stock Exchange.

Commenting upon the conviction of the two young Johnnies Carson upon St. Patrick's Cathedral, the New York Globe says:

"The prisoners were simply pawns in the game between the anarchists and the police, and their next move is from the Tombs to Sing Sing. But the leaders will continue to make their speeches, and so will those two boys as examples of injustice, and there is just enough truth in what they will have to say to do a lot of harm in the minds of the younger and less intelligent of their followers."

It was a tremendous profit.

Six hundred, ninety seven million, seven hundred two thousand, seven hundred and seventy-five dollars!

It is truly enormous. It was the greatest exaction taken by any of the great monopolies.

And yet they are not satisfied.

This prodigious exploitation does not satisfy their monstrous greed.

They want more. They demand more.

not all that the railroads got that year. There are usually vast sums taken out of the incomes of the roads and set over to "additions and improvements" or "surpluses," etc.

Clifford Thorne has estimated these additional incomes for the year 1911, which he says was the last year for which he had complete data at hand, as follows:

In income on stock \$621,497,164

Appropriations for add. 306,611,667

Appropriations for new 56,760,112

Appropriations for extension 2,818,628

Appropriations for other 7,997,124

Surplus for year, to gen. 61,000,000

Total 823,754,781

not all that the industry and thereby increased its earning capacity for in excess of the increased cost of labor or supplies.

ALL THESE and other equally pertinent and important points were established by Mr. Thorne in his hearings before the commission. The reader who desires more elaborate and complete data should consult the records of the Interstate Commerce Commission. A brief resume of the essential points as outlined above may be found in Pearson's Magazine for July, 1914, in an article by Charles Edward Russell, pp. 18-21.

They are wasting \$1,000,000 a day.

When these roads were making their frantic appeal for increased rates in 1910, Mr. Louis D. Brandeis of Boston, the famous efficiency expert, appeared before the Interstate Commerce Commission against the increase. He argued that if their income was not sufficient the proper remedy was higher rates, resulting in higher costs to the people and lessened business. The proper remedy was for the railroads to correct their faulty systems and introduce scientific management, economy and efficiency, which would lower the costs, raise wages, and increase busines.

The figures at the head of this column tell this week's story.

Our total has now reached \$1,352. We received \$28 last week.

That means that \$3,648 must still be raised in order to achieve our ambition of getting 50,000 new subscribers for *The American Socialist*.

That should be easy. If only half of the Socialist locals in the land would send in \$1 each for four sub cards the work would be accomplished. If one-fifteenth of our subscribers would each send in \$1 for four sub cards and then sell the cards during Red Week, they would get their money back and the message of Socialism would be carried to many more non-Socialists for the next forty weeks.

Our increase in circulation this week of 1,000 is directly due to this campaign. It shows that those who have bought sub cards are selling them. Many of these are coming back for more. Our increase this week sends the list up to 57,100. During Red Week we ought to climb past the 60,000 mark and take a big leap toward the 70,000 mark.

The April 7th issue of *The Daily Citizen*, the organ of the British Workers, has just arrived and shows that 58,342 shillings, more than half of the 100,000 fund being raised, has already been secured. That means that the British workers will soon have raised \$5,000 for their press. The workers of America are merely asked to sell \$5,000 worth of sub-cards for their great national organ. They will do the job during the next few weeks completing it during Red Week.**This Week's Editorial From Socialist Press****"EXAMPLES OF INJUSTICE"**(From *The New York Call*)

Commenting upon the conviction of the two young Johnnies Carson upon St. Patrick's Cathedral, the New York Globe says:

"The prisoners were simply pawns in the game between the anarchists and the police, and their next move is from the Tombs to Sing Sing. But the leaders will continue to make their speeches, and so will those two boys as examples of injustice, and there is just enough truth in what they will have to say to do a lot of harm in the minds of the younger and less intelligent of their followers."

ARE RAILROADS ENTITLED TO INCREASED RATES?—NO!

By CARL D. THOMPSON

THE railroads cleared \$607,000,000 over and above all expenses in 1914.

It was a tremendous profit.

Six hundred, ninety seven million, seven hundred two thousand, seven hundred and seventy-five dollars!

It is truly enormous. It was the greatest exaction taken by any of the great monopolies.

And yet they are not satisfied.

This prodigious exploitation does not satisfy their monstrous greed.

They want more. They demand more.

not all that the railroads got that year. There are usually vast sums taken out of the incomes of the roads and set over to "additions and improvements" or "surpluses," etc.

Clifford Thorne has estimated these additional incomes for the year 1911, which he says was the last year for which he had complete data at hand, as follows:

In income on stock \$621,497,164

Appropriations for add. 306,611,667

Appropriations for new 56,760,112

Appropriations for extension 2,818,628

Appropriations for other 7,997,124

Surplus for year, to gen. 61,000,000

Total 823,754,781

FROM THIS it would appear that the real profits of the railroads were nearer to \$600,000,000 a year than to \$700,000,000.

But this is not all.

They have accumulated vast sums of surplus out of their profits.

Besides their annual profits the railroads are accumulating every year an additional surplus. And the claim of the railroads that their income is not sufficient is based partly upon the additional surplus on which they claim they are entitled to earn an income. In 1911 the roads had carried over to their general balance sheet \$1,038,128,000 in addition to their \$91,000,000 surplus. This represented the accumulated surplus of many years preceding.

This campaign takes the form of an effort to convince the people that the poor railroads of this country are not getting enough to live on. They are poverty stricken. In fact, they are rapidly going to the "demolition bow-wow" as fast as steam and steel can carry them. Mr. A. H. Smith, president of the New York Central, in an interview published in *The New York World* on April 1, 1914, made these words: "As I see it, we are going to the devil as fast as we can."

For nearly five years, from countess newspapers in the land, from every conceivable source, there has gone in the wall of despair and the cry of the poor and the oppressed railroad. The burden of their agony has been that the railroads are property stricken. They are crushed with enormously increasing wage scales, their profits are dwindling, the same point, they are complicit in the railroads' operations, and with the trenchant industry suffers, thousands are thrown out of work, factories closed down, shippers are ruined, industry is stagnated and the country's prosperity is ruined.

THIS UNEARNED increment is enormous in many cases. For example, the original cost of the lands for the terminals of the Northern Pacific in St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth was \$4,527,288.76.

By 1913 these values aside from all improvements made by the company had risen to \$17,315,869.45, an increase of 380% on the original cost.

The land values owned by the Northern Pacific in Minnesota amounted to over 20% of all their property.

On that basis the land values of all the railroads in the United States would amount to \$2,800,000,000. And the increase, or unearned increment, on that amount of land value would be enormous—possibly several hundred millions of dollars every year. This also is the railroads' capital, add to their investment, and we may expect to pay a dividend on that also.

We submit that this is putting it too thick. We protest.

But even that is not all.

They are deriving vast unearned incomes in land values outside their railroad operations.

4. The railroads own lands and terminals in every state and every city, some of them having enormous value. Now these land values increase rapidly from year to year. The increase, or unearned increment, is also increasing every year.

The railroads' capital and their investment are paid to railroad employees and officials who are commanding the highest services are paid to the public service at from \$6,000 to \$12,000 per year. Again, vast amounts are spent in needless legal entanglements and lawsuits—probably not less than \$4,000,000 per year. Lewis estimates that \$18,000,000 is wasted every year in competitive advertising. Other possible economies are elimination of needless duplications, better routing of the service, use of more scientific equipment, etc.

With all these facts we well understand that the railroads are not only refusing to give their consent to the increased rates but are continuing to refuse to give their consent to the increased rates. If the railroads really need to make more money let them first of all correct their own faulty management.

THIS, THEN, is our case against the increase of the railroad rates:

(1) They are getting enough already.

(2) They are getting more than they ever got before.

(3) They are getting a hundred million dollars more than their actual revenue, which they conceal from the public by charging increases, additions, etc.

(4) They are claiming that they should have an income over a billion dollars of "accumulated surplus" on which they are not entitled to return, since this surplus has been accumulated out of the rates paid by the people and income on this fund would be a double charge.

(5) They are deriving the benefits of vast unearned increments in land values amounting to several hundred million dollars every year, for which, of course, they give the people no credit, but which they take as a matter of course.

They are making more today than ever before.

5. And finally, the railroads were earning more money, making more profits, doing more business and drawing more dividends at the very time they were putting up their loudest cry of poverty than they have ever done before in their history. On this point the case of the railroads broke down completely before the Interstate Commerce Commission last summer. No argument was ever so completely annihilated as was that the railroads, their war expenses and high salaries attorney, Clifford Thorne, chairman of the State Railroad Commission of Iowa, thinks the railroads are getting enough already, and has proven it. Postmaster General Burleson seems not to have been swept entirely away. At least he refuses to be stampeded into favoring a big increase to the railroads for hauling mail.

Really, now, are the railroads in such an awful plight? Are they really entitled to these enormous increases which they are seeking?

They have asked for, and have been granted, an increase in freight rates of 5%, which would mean an increase of at least \$70,000,000 in the annual revenues of the railroads. In addition to this

SUGGESTIONS AND WARNINGS FROM OTHER LANDS

By WALTER THOMAS MILLS
Author of "The Struggle for Existence", and just returned from a five week's lecture tour around the world.

NO. 4.—THE SOCIALIST PARTY, THE INDUSTRIAL GROUPS AND THE TRADE UNIONS.

AMONG the exploiters the most marked event in recent years has been the very rapid consolidation of the great industries, such as copper, steel or transportation, into great single monopolies and finally the rapid movement toward the consolidation of all monopolies into a final monopoly of monopolies.

The workers in every such industry must deal with the monopoly of the industry in which they are employed. The government when it takes over any certain industry, must deal with the monopoly in getting the industry and must organize and operate the great consolidated industry as a unit when once it is taken over.

These great industrial groups, both among the exploiters and among the workers, are of the very first importance in the consideration of any current industrial or political question. Those who can rule these great industrial groups can rule the world.

The most marked feature in the development of labor unions, the world over in recent years, has been in the direction of the consolidation or federation of old unions and the creation of new ones along the lines of these great industries.

IN GREAT BRITAIN, when the work already undertaken is complete, there will remain only fifteen distinct industrial bodies all federated into one instead of 1,000 separate and independent organizations as was the case only a few years ago.

In Germany, nearly fifty-four unions were ever organized. All other labor bodies were branches of these national bodies. In New Zealand the United Federation, recently created, is entirely a federation of thirteen industrial groups or departments each composed of all the unions in some given industry. The same scheme has been very generally endorsed and the labor unions of Australia are rapidly consolidating after a similar manner.

In New Zealand the Social Democratic party was organized with the party membership. In these same industrial groups, made the units of its national organization. The members of the party employed in each of these thirteen industrial groups, elect each a representative of the group to the National Committee and these elected representatives of these industrial groups are the only national committee. It acts directly as its own executive.

As the national organizer of this party, I was a member of this committee. In all of its deliberations the direct and responsible spokesman of the great industrial groups and those only were given consideration.

In our own country the largest single industrial group is the farmers, then come the miners and after them the factory worker, the transport workers, the building trades and the printing industries and so on to the end of the list.

THE CREATION of the co-operative commonwealth cannot be effected except by making the workers within these great industrial units GROUP CONSCIOUS. Just as the exploiters have already been consolidated along occupational lines so must the workers be consolidated. Just as the exploiters use the whole power of the government to protect and enforce their work of exploitation, so must the workers use this same public power to take over the power of ownership and with it the power to manage these same industries.

The Socialist Party will soonest demonstrate its ability to create such an industrial Republic by directly relating its own affairs in its own work of organization and propaganda to these great industries. To do this will require work in the shape of re-organization or re-creation. The nucleus of government already in the forms of our organization.

The regular application for membership cards now in use require a record of the occupations of all party members. The organization of conferences and special committees within the party membership and along these industrial lines, which have in this way been given recognition, will open the way for further developments as rapidly as successful experience will justify.

It is quite true that the effort to preserve state rights has made of our National Committee a cumbersome machine, while the existence of the industrial group have been ignored.

THE MISSION of the Socialists will not be realized by the simple preservation of artificial geographical boundary lines. The mission of the Socialists will be realized only by the perfection of the self-governing industrial groups with these groups consolidated into a single Co-operative Industrial Commonwealth.

The experience of other lands demonstrates that this can be done best by organizing the activities of the party which seeks to do it along exactly these same industrial lines on which it will afterwards seek to administer the government itself.

It is not the states of California, of Minnesota, of Texas or of Massachusetts that need organizational campaigns in order to win for Socialism. It is the great industrial groups, the farmers, the miners, the factory and the transport workers, the building trades and all the rest of the useful people within all the states end without regard to states, each person in connection with the occupation in which he finds the field of his own usefulness.

Next week's article will be on the subject of Economy and Efficiency in the All-Year-Round-Propaganda, in the Work of Organization and in the Carrying of Elections.

Executive Department

WALTER LANFERNICK, Secretary

National Executive Committee:
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LEWIS J. DUNGAN, Butte, Mont.
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bury, Conn.

Address all communications to The
Socialist Party, 600 W. Madison Street,
Chicago. Address all mail to department
and not to individuals. Enclose
remittance payable to the Socialist
Party.

OFFICIAL BUSINESS.
NATIONAL REFERENDUM.
By Local Central, Montana.

That there shall be inserted a plank in
the platform of the Socialist Party of the
United States calling for the regulation of all war debts of the United
States now existing, or that should be
contracted.

Whereas none of the war debts were
contracted by the working class therefore
the workers should refuse to pay them.
We believe that the striking of these
war debts and the payment of the same
will make it increasingly difficult
for this capitalist controlled govern-
ment to raise money to carry on
war. Therefore the government could
not raise the money and could not have
war. Some place may my suppose come

POLITICAL SUPREMACY AND SOCIAL EMANCIPATION IN FIVE YEARS

The most revolutionary uprising of slaves

A movement that is rapidly crystallizing
the ardent and disengaged and the power of
the workers into a dynamic class-consciousness

An organized system evolved by the
workers themselves whereby every individ-
ual, class, race, sex, age, and condition
is an active participant in the solution of these

problems, and an active conscious power in
the over-conquerors and that of all the
workers. Every individual, every class, every
race, every sex, every age, every condition
will be a battle of gathering guns on the

force of the master-class bearing most
heavily upon you and your strength and the
body of the working-class and the power of
the vital spots of Capitalism that all their hiring borders of Hades

Finally, Mr. Party, send me, then decide whether you want
the rest. Address

RADIO-SCIENCE PUBLISHERS
ST. AUBURN, IOWA

get Part I, then decide whether you want
the rest. Address

AMERICAN SOCIALIST 6 YEARS \$1.00.

**THIS COLUMN RECORDS
THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF
OUR SUB HUSTLERS
FROM WEEK TO WEEK**

Last Week 54,191
Off 56,117

On 57,100

Gain 1,003

The American Socialist has many friends, but there are few who equal its enthusiasm. Connecticut's live state secretary, — S. E. Beardley,

In a recent letter to the Circulation Manager, Comrade Beardley sends the following cheering message:

"We are planning to give the circulation of The American Socialist one big boost here in this State during May Week by selling six months' subscriptions cards in all of the open air and hall meetings, by selecting personally and in the shops. Will have a few more to send you during the next week and we are going to have all of the speakers in the State during the open air campaign of 1915 sell six months' subscriptions cards in all of the open air and hall meetings. We are sure that we shall be able with this plan to get at least 1,000 six months' subs in your hands before snow flies. With best wishes for continued success in your work, I remain, Yours in the name of S. E. BEARDLEY,

State Secretary-Treasurer, Socialist Party of Connecticut."

ROLL OF HONOR

J. J. PRUCHA, New York, has the circulation record RED. He orders 42 cards this week.

E. R. HALE, Missouri, asks for 14 cards. The climbing figures of the circulation record will continue to him and his audience as he will go on selling The American Socialist.

THOMAS BREWER, Illinois, sends us a dozen names. He says: "I will do all I can to help along."

KODAK, DAY, Michigan, sends eight cards. The Kodak people are Socialist literature. Comrade Hayt thinks The American Socialist is the right thing for them.

E. R. PREBLEY, Wisconsin, orders a hand card for his branch. He believes that the communists and socialists are the party of progress and the communists who are fighting for economic justice.

E. W. HEDWIGER, New Jersey, decides to order seven cards. He says: "I am sending them to our local Socialists."

JOHN C. COOPER, Ohio, sends us a dozen names. He wants to make them good Socialists. He says:

J. J. BROWN, Colorado, orders a bunch of cards. He comments: "The American Socialist has a long lead in the Socialist movement. We consider it our duty to do our best to help it along. It is a success and would advise all branches and locals to do likewise."

W. H. BLANDFORD, Michigan, orders seven cards.

HENRY H. MCDONALD, a busy comrade in Washington, orders seven cards to sell to his friends. She is one of the women leaders on our list.

W. J. JURA, Ohio: "Let us make our paper the greatest in America."

W. R. JOHN finds a lot of seven in Pennsylvania. He sends us a dozen hand cards, helping from the numbers of supporters he finds some in.

CHARLES G. MARSHALL is a KUMM, Illinois, Socialist. He says by the second week he will have sold 100 cards in northern Illinois. He has already sent in 247. At every one of his meetings he hands out a good bunch of subs. We are glad to see more enthusiastic Socialists like this number.

ROBERT HEWITT PLAGE, Ohio, orders a bunch of cards to The American Socialist. They were those on hand at the Socialists' meeting in the Hotel Statute of Harvey, Illinoian. With every member reading The American Socialist they have every reason for being awake.

J. L. HARRIS, Nebraska: "The American Socialist is a great little paper which is putting it up."

A. L. WILKINSON, Ohio: "Enclosed find \$1. Your paper is the right paper and I send the greeting others to read it and also the paper to the public."

B. E. KERK, Alaska: "Here is \$1 to get the paper out of date."

ROBERT KAPLAN, Florida: "Here is \$1. Take with me that I order your paper especially the writings of Robert Bauer."

J. B. HANKE, Minnesota: "Our local will order more before long. Here is \$1."

SOCIALIST VICTORIES

OKLAHOMA.

THE COMEDY OF CAPITALISM

By CHARLES W. ERVIN

A NOTED mathematical sharp in the last century living of his life figures wrote a book for his own amusement which he named "Alice in Wonderland." It became quite famous. Alice fell through a hole in the centre of the earth and began a series of adventures that for gaiety have never been equaled.

TOOK BETTER short and short became long, wide became narrow and the top became wide, the top became the bottom, and the bottom became off.

Everybody in the book did just the opposite thing to what one would have expected of same beings. In fact Alice's life in the centre of the earth was almost as crazy as is ours on the surface.

If there is an Alice up in Mars, and she should tumble into space and land upon the return to the planet she could publish an "Alice in Thunderland" that would set all Mars a-laughing. She could tell a crazy story than the other Alice.

IF ALICE HAPPENED to be visiting us now the funniest part of her story would be an account of the Salvation Companies financed by the plutocrats. Billy Sunday and scores of lesser evangelists are reaping a rich harvest of dollars in return for their work in keeping the people's attention on the hereafter while the plutes rob them in the here.

PHILLY is reported in one of the papers that backed his show in Philadelphia as advising a group of workers in one of the big textile mills not to go on "strike."

"God never went on strike," said Bill. We didn't know God worked for wages but then Bill claims a rather "perspiring intimacy" with the Almighty and may have some inside information on this.

At another big industrial plant Bill told the workers to be "loyal" etc. to the boss. Small wonder that a millionaire manufacturer bought Bill a \$200 scarf pin as well as other expensive jewelry for members of his family. He should worry about a few thousand invested in Bill and his show. He knew it would pay a handsome dividend.

Another manufacturer whose plant is known as "The Human Slaugher-house" on account of the large number of men killed and maimed yearly! In his industrial hell is reported to have said that Bill had certainly done a wonderful work in quieting the "unrest" among the people.

The "business men" of Jerusalem who were driven from the Temple by the Carpenter of Calilee were a poor bunch compared with these modern plutes. There is just one verse of scripture that it's a sure thing the financial underwriters of the various Salvation Companies now touring the country believe. "In Godliness there is great gain" — for those who work the workers. Sunday and his fellow evangelists are just as sure that this verse is all to the good.

THE IMMENSE impudence of these financial and industrial Pharisees is startling. Those who read this may have differing religious beliefs or may have no particular belief.

None, however, can deny that the teachings credited to the Nazarene are a denial of the justice of every practice of these plunderers of the people. One remembers the words said to have been used by the Christ whose name and fame these men defile with their hypocrisy. They were directed at a similar group in his day — "For they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers." One also remembers the warning to his followers of those who would come to them "in sheep's clothing while inwardly they are ravening wolves."

A pious plate is a sight to make the devil giggle with glee. There are just four lines by Dryden that celebrate him fitly.

"Fox full fraught in seeming sanctity:
That feared an oath, but like the devil won't die.
This isn't like Lent, and had the holy bear,
And durst not sin? before he said his prayer!"

LUDLOW APRIL 20, 1914

By PAUL J. PAULSEN

T HIS name applies to a small station on the C. & S. R. R. in Southern Colorado, unimportant if it were not for the fact that it is the junction to numerous coal mines and therefore a menace to coal mine owners to have such a large camp of strikers living in tents near this point. This fact was responsible for the attack made on defenseless women and children by gunmen wearing the uniform of the State Militia on April 20, 1914, during the great coal miners' strike.

Ludlow therefore has become known worldwide. What memories that name recalls to the members of the Working Class. One year ago it was the scene of one of the most brutal attacks ever attempted by the Ruling Class on the Workers. "THE LUDLOW MASSACRE" was on defenseless women and children, the murdering of men who came to plead that these innocents be given a place of safety. TIKAS AND HIS ASSOCIATES.

The Martyrs of Ludlow are moving in triumphal march night after night when alive. The cause they championed has since been the topic of discussion in Cabinet Meetings in Washington, in the Halls of Congress. Investigations innumerable have been made, some by those who were responsible for the outrages and numerous others and in every instance the crime was laid at the door of the coal operators of Colorado.

When we think of all the lives that have been lost, of the hundreds that have been compelled to linger in filthy and unsanitary prisons and are now being persecuted, the misery endured by men, women and children in this gigantic struggle fighting for a right that our forefathers fought and died for, the right to organize Industrially for mutual protection. The mine owners themselves enjoy this right but will not concede it to their wage slaves and in this fact alone is contained the cause of the entire conflict.

The echoes of what happened at Ludlow has reverberated around the world. The general resolution was adopted after lengthy discussion calling for "speedy ending of the war by peace which shall exalt the wrong done to Belgium, impose no humiliating conditions on any nation and reconstitute the right of all nationalities, large and small, to independence and self-government."

The resolutions referred in general terms to the capitalistic and imperialistic origin of the conflict, the menace of the armament interests and their huge international organization and the extortions of contractors and food speculators.

Relations between the British and German delegations were entirely amicable, it is stated, and the cordial relations between the German delegates and those from France were equally marked.

No announcement of the conference was made in advance of the difficult and dangerous attending the traps of the delegates from Germany and Austria, as well as those representatives of neutral countries, who had to travel across Germany.

year ago and it is for us who still endure to see that the sacrifices shall not have been for naught.

A righteous cause always wins in the end and so must the cause of the miners of this entire country and the right will prevail despite all that can be arrayed against it and we have faith that we shall not prove false to the noble sacrifices of the men, women and children who gave up their lives at Ludlow and these others who met death in this gigantic conflict.

Let us in the words of the immortal Lincoln, here resolve on this the first anniversary commemorating the sacrifice of the victims of Ludlow, acclaim with one accord: "It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great work remaining before us; That from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the full measure of devotion; That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain."

MAY PROVE "TOPPER HERE" IN "UPPER MICHIGAN."

During the hearing held by the United States Commission on Industrial Relations in Chicago, the editor of The American Socialist brought the situation in Upper Michigan, where the copper barons are trying to drive all Socialists into exile, to the attention of the commission.

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PORTO RICANS SEE NEED OF GETTING POLITICAL POWER.

Hundreds of members of the Free Federation of Porto Rico Workingmen, realizing the necessity of seizing the political powers and priviliges which the sugar barons and other capitalists have usurped, and which are now being used in oppressing agricultural strikers, are bending their efforts to strengthen the Socialists' movement in Porto Rico.

Porto Rico has been greatly stimulated by the election of Enrique Landra as Mayor of Arrecibo, and Julie Aybar, delegate to the Lower House. Also, they have realized that there is no successful combatting of capitalist parasite without political strength.

The Insular Labor Party is several years old, and directly met at Cayey, during the convention days of the Free Federation in March. On behalf of the Socialist group Manuel F. Rojas, secretary, has written to the Socialist Party of America for recognition. He has sent the following letter to national headquarters at Chicago:

"Arecibo, P. R. March 29, 1914.
To The Secretary of the Socialist Party of America:

"I have the pleasure of communicating to you that several years ago there was formed in Porto Rico, a class-conscious organization known as the Insular Labor Party.

"By vote of the first convention held in the city of Cayey, March 22, 1914, it was decided to abandon the name "Insular Labor Party" and continue with increased enthusiasm through April with the distribution of the great leaflet, "How Socialists Would Meet the War Crisis."

"This is part of THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST'S great literature campaign that will continue up to the presidential election in November 1916. The time to make Socialists is now and then the vote in 1916 will take care of itself.

By a special arrangement with the literature department, THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST is able to offer this eye-opener at 50 cents a thousand, collect. Four page leaflets have never been sold at this price before. It is the price at which nearly 2,000,000 copies of the "Starve the War" leaflets were sold. In lots of 5,000 or more the price will be only 40 cents a thousand, collect.

Kirkpatrick's definition of war in this leaflet is alone worth the price of the leaflet. His definition is:

"A war is a struggle between two or more groups of people for power, or for control over a certain area."

If you haven't got the 50 cents

to pay for a thousand of these leaflets just get 16 forty-week issues.

Each issue costs 30 cents.

With best wishes, and awaiting a favorable answer, I remain,

"Yours Fraternally,
George E. Kirkpatrick,
Author of "War, What For?"

"To The Secretary of the Socialist Party of America:

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